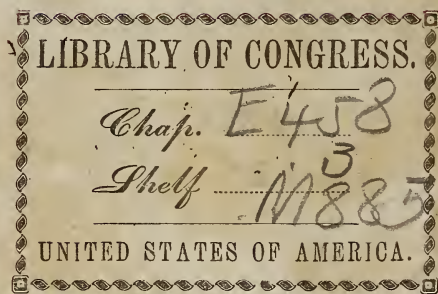


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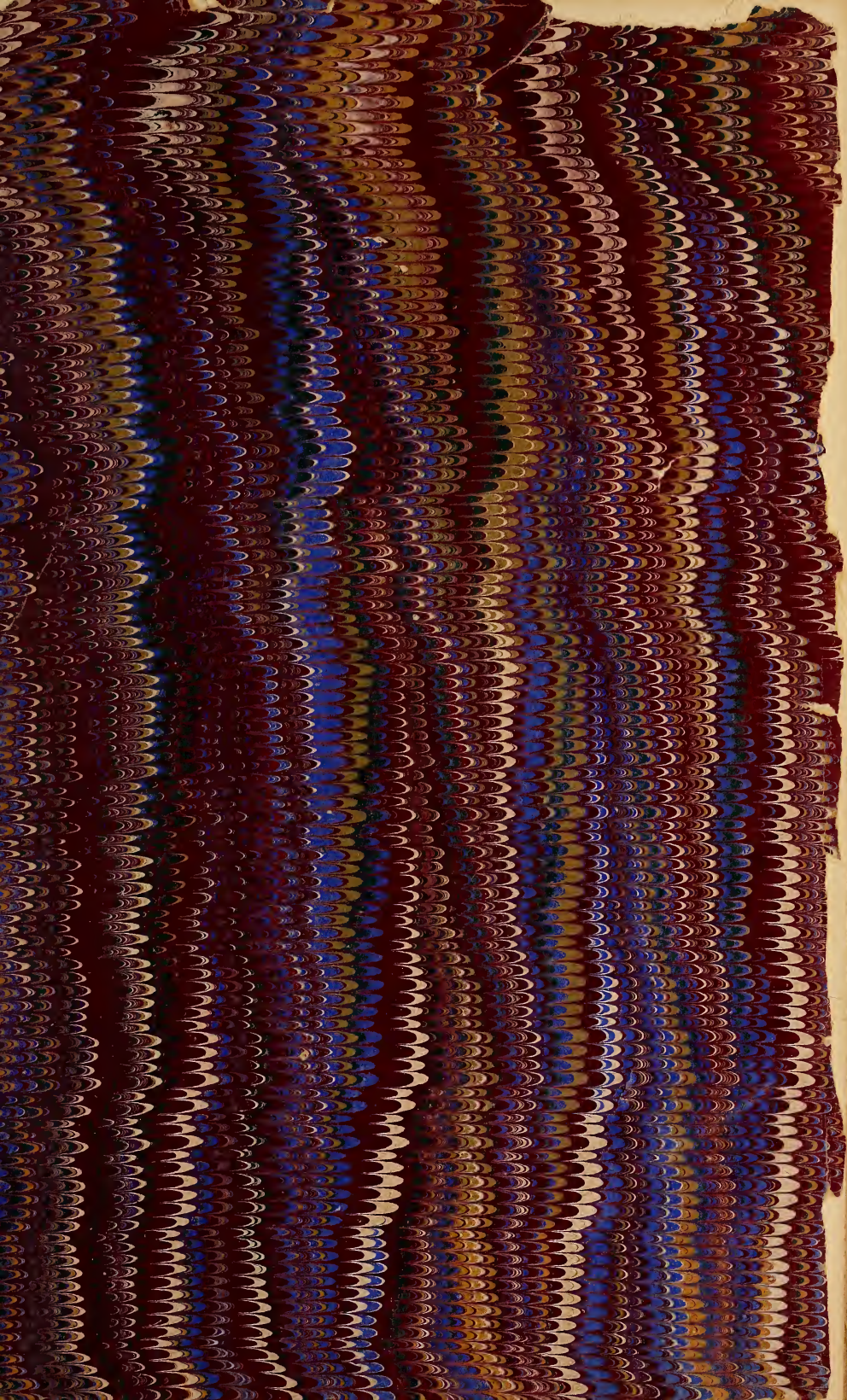


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A

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OF THE

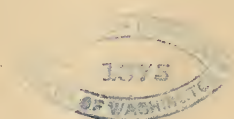
AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDERS'
REBELLION.

BY

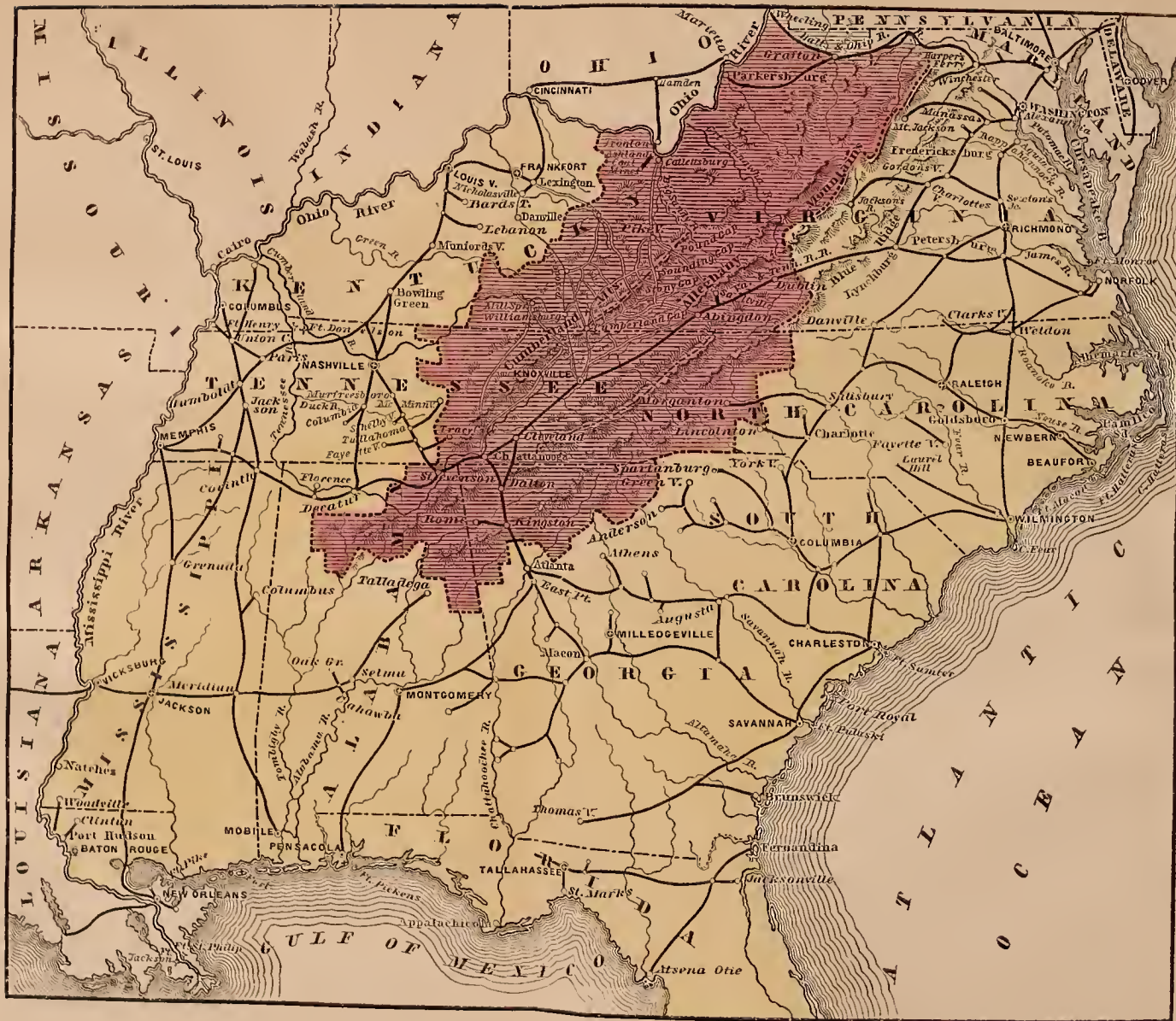
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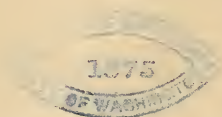
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A GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL AND ETHICAL VIEW

OF THE

AMERICAN SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION.

THE great error of the United States government, in its attempt to put down the Slaveholders' Rebellion, obviously has been bad general strategy, arising from a failure to take a simple, comprehensive view of the country and people to be subdued.

Who are the rebels, and where do they live? We all know that the great slaveholders in the states east of the Mississippi River, are the life and soul of the rebellion. Now these great slaveholders are not, as is commonly imagined, spread almost equally over the whole territory of the States in which they reside, but are confined to a narrow strip of country, extending, in the shape of a horseshoe, along the coast of the Atlantic on the east, the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and the eastern banks of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, on the west. This horseshoe-shaped country is scarcely anywhere more than 200 miles wide, while the line of its outer border, which also passes through or near almost every one of its principal cities, viz.: Alexandria, Richmond, and Norfolk, in Virginia; Newbern and Wilmington, in North Carolina; Charleston, in South Carolina; Savannah, in Georgia; Pensacola, in Florida; Mobile, in Alabama; New Orleans, in Louisiana; Natchez and Vicksburg, in Mississippi; Memphis and Nashville, in Tennessee; and Columbus and Louisville, in Kentucky, is nearly 2,000 miles long.

This horseshoe-shaped country consists, to a great ex-

tent, of low, fertile land, fitted for the production of tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar, &c., but within it, and almost encircled by it, is a mountainous tongue of land, stretching from the states of Ohio and Pennsylvania, in a southwesterly direction, nearly to the centre of Alabama,—a country 500 miles long, and, on an average, almost 200 miles broad, embracing the western third of Virginia, the western fifth of North Carolina, Pickens district in South Carolina, the northern sixth of Georgia, the northeastern sixth of Alabama, and the eastern thirds of Tennessee and Kentucky.

This Mountain district covers an area of about 80,000 square miles, and, in 1860, according to the official census, contained nearly 1,500,000 inhabitants, of whom only 126,000, or one in twelve, were slaves; while in the horseshoe-shaped country around it, occupied by the slaveholders, there were, according to the same census, in round numbers, 7,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,100,000 were negroes, and of the 3,900,000 whites more than 700,000 were in Kentucky, leaving less than 3,200,000 whites outside of the Mountain district, in the eight rebel states east of the Mississippi river.

The people of this Mountain district, when left entirely free to express their sentiments, have always been strongly but rationally anti-slavery. A little more than thirty years ago there were anti-slavery societies all over Western Virginia, Western North Carolina, East Tennessee, and Eastern Kentucky; and the people in these parts of those Slave States, then almost unanimously demanded the emancipation of the slaves, by the acts of their respective state legislatures, the emancipation to be accompanied by the removal of the freed negroes to other lands. It was just after the

subject of emancipation had been fully discussed by the Virginia legislature, with a fair prospect of the eventual success of the emancipationists, that the ultra-abolition movement commenced in New England, and gave the great slaveholders in the low country power to effect that suppression of all public agitation of the Emancipation question throughout the whole South, which has continued to this day.

The mountaineers of the South regard the climate and productions of their district as unsuited to negro labor, and hence their anti-slavery feeling. They are not Abolitionists. They do not regard slaveholding, or the institution of slavery, as a sin. They take the Bible as their standard of right in ethics as well as in religion; and their most distinguished religious teachers, Brownlow, Ross, and others, have taught them from that book, that God himself instituted a system of perpetual, hereditary slavery, as a part of the government of his chosen people (Leviticus, xxv. 44, 45, 46); and that not only Abraham and other Jewish patriarchs, but some of the men most distinguished for Christian virtues in the time of Christ and his Apostles, were slaveholders, none of whom were rebuked for holding their fellowmen in slavery, while on one of these slaveholders, who was also an officer in the army of an absolute military despot, Christ bestowed the highest eulogy, and that too immediately after this slaveholder had openly avowed that he held and exercised absolute power over his fellow-men in both of these relations (Luke, vii. 1-10).

These mountaineers maintain that the Bible doctrine respecting Slavery and Government is, that all the *power* which one man possesses over another under human law, however great the power, and how-

ever acquired, is "of God" (Romans, xiii. 1); that he who uses his power in love fulfills the law of God (Romans, xiii. 8-10), but that every violation of the law of love, either in acquiring, using, relinquishing, or refusing to relinquish power, is a sin. They do not predicate sin of the *possession* of power, or of the *amount* of power, but of the *abuse* of power.

They assert that Christ's law is Love; that Love requires good, the highest good; and that the highest good often forbids the abolition of great evils, even when those evils originated in great crimes. After the devil, for example, had sowed tares in a farmer's field of wheat, and the tares had sprung up with the wheat, Christ advised the farmer's servants to let the tares "grow" until the harvest (Matt. xiii. 30). If these servants had consulted the devil, the devil doubtless would have denounced Christ's counsel as the fruit of the doctrine of expediency, and would have ordered the servants instantly to root out all the tares from the field, on the principle, that the sowing of the tares was a wrong, that the growth of the tares is a continuance of the wrong, that the long continuance of wrong cannot justify its further continuance, and that it is always right and safe to abolish instantly all wrongs, leaving to God the consequences. Our brethren in the mountains of the South profess to have learned their ethics in *Christ's* school.

Armed thus, as they believe, with the Word of God, these plain and unlettered, but morally courageous mountaineers, regardless of public sentiment in the most enlightened countries of this enlightened age, throw down the gauntlet, and not only challenge the learned theologians and philosophers of England, New England, and all the world, to prove that slavery is a

sin; but, on the other hand, boldly declare their own readiness to maintain that slavery, when established by law in any country, is part and parcel of the government of the country, and that government is a divine institution, deriving its authority, not from "the consent of the governed," but from the appointment of God (Romans xiii. 1). They hold, therefore, that to deny, in Virginia or Carolina, the right of the slaveholder to the power which the law of the state gives him to rule his negro slaves, is as truly a sin against the law of God, and as worthy of punishment by the law of man, as the denial in France of the right of Louis Napoleon to the power which the law there gives him over his subjects.

While, however, these Bible-reverencing backwoodsmen maintain so strenuously, and so conscientiously, the Christian lawfulness of negro slavery; while they would denounce as a crime, the sudden abolition of slavery in a country where the slaves are numerous, and situated as they are in the cotton, rice, and sugar districts of the South; while, indeed, they would cheerfully expose their own lives in defending the slaveholders of those districts from any who should attempt to excite their slaves to insurrection, they regard slavery in their own mountain district as a great evil, and would heartily rejoice to witness its total abolition there, if they could only be assured that the emancipated negroes would migrate to other lands, and be as happy and as well cared for, temporally and spiritually, in freedom as they now are in slavery.

The mountaineers of our Slave States are not surpassed by the people of any state or district in the land in ardent love of true republican liberty, in uniform and unwavering loyalty to the general govern-

ment, and in enthusiastic attachment to the American Union. They abhor Secessionism as much as they abhor Abolitionism. They regard Abolitionism as the mother of Secessionism, and both as the offspring of the Evil One, begot and commissioned by him to destroy all the good which our good Father in Heaven has bestowed upon His most favored country and most favored people on the earth. These free and unambitious mountaineers have no interest to be promoted, and no feeling to be gratified by joining the Southern Confederacy. They know that in such a confederacy all other classes of the population will of course be ruled by the great slaveholders, who will compel the negro to work for them as a menial in the house and on the plantation, and the non-slaveholding white, in the mountains as well as in the plains, to fight their battles, and carry out their schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. They loathe the thought of such humiliation. They glory in the great Republic, and in their present relation of equality with all its citizens in every part of its wide domain.

In the map of the Slave States east of the Mississippi river, which we give above, we have shaded the Mountain district by ruled lines, so that its shape, and the shape and relative position of the rebel portion of the country may be seen at a glance of the eye. We have also inserted on the map a complete view of the railroads throughout the entire section. All the railroad lines here laid down are *finished* roads, except the line from Danville, in Kentucky, through Williamsburg to Knoxville, in Tennessee, which was proposed, we believe, by President Lincoln as a military road, nearly two years since, but was not adopted by Congress, for what reasons we do not know.

It will be seen that, with the exception of the short roads between Parkersburg, Grafton, and Wheeling, in the extreme north, and those from Cleveland, through Kingston and Stevenson, in the extreme south, there is, in the whole Mountain district, but one railroad, viz., that part of the great railroad line from Norfolk to Memphis, which enters this Mountain district between Lynchburg and Dublin, in Virginia, and leaves it beyond Stevenson in Alabama. The border of the Mountain district is, however, everywhere connected with the outer border of the horseshoe-shaped country, by railroads commencing at, or proceeding from, points near the foot of the mountains, and crossing the plantations of the low country to cities near tide-water in the east and south, and on the bank of the Mississippi or of the Ohio River in the west. We give here a list of these cross-railroads, in geographical order, with the distances, as laid down in Appleton's Railway Guide, from the stations at the foot of the mountains to the cities on the coast, and on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers.

	MILES.
1. Mt. Jackson, Va., to Alexandria, . . .	112
2. Jackson, R., to Richmond, . . .	195
3. Lynchburg, Va., to Richmond & Petersburg, . . .	123
4. Lynchburg, Va., to Norfolk, . . .	203
5. Salisbury, N. C., to Newbern, . . .	239
6. Salisbury, N. C., to Wilmington, . . .	265
7. Yorkville, S. C., to Charleston, . . .	217
8. Spartanburg, S. C., to do . . .	226
9. Greenville, S. C., to do . . .	273
10. Anderson, S. C., to do . . .	257
11. Athens, Geo., to do . . .	253
12. Atlanta, Geo., to do . . .	308

	MILES
13. Atlanta, Geo., to Savannah,	293
14. Atlanta, Geo., to Pensacola,	323
15. Talladega, Ala., to Mobile,	344
16. Talladega, Ala., to New Orleans,	488
17. Talladega, Ala., to Vicksburg,	349
18. Decatur, Ala., to Memphis, -	188
19. Decatur, Ala., to Columbus, Ky.,	271
10. Stevenson, Ala., to Nashville, Tenn.,	113
21. Stevenson, Ala., to Louisville, Ky.,	298

By comparing this table with our map, it will be seen, that, while the great cities of the rebels are widely separated from each other on the outer frontier of their territory, on a line extending, even when drawn in the air directly from one to the other, through a distance of nearly 2,000 miles, every one of these cities, except New Orleans, is within 12 or 14 hours, *by railroad*, of some railroad station near the border of the Mountain district; and even New Orleans can be reached by railroad, from Talladega in less than 20 hours, the train moving at the rate of only 25 miles an hour!

In view of these geographical and statistical facts, is it not clear that the true method of putting down the rebellion effectually, is, to take military possession of the whole Mountain district represented on our map, and to keep it forever from the control of the slaveholders? We already hold the whole of Eastern Kentucky and more than two-thirds of Western Virginia. The people of East Tennessee have been crying to us for nearly two years for arms and men, to enable them to throw off the yoke of the slaveholders, and late Southern papers inform us that the Confederate government has been compelled to send troops into

the mountains of Northern Alabama, Northern Georgia, and Western North Carolina, to put down the Unionists who are there earnestly rebelling against the rebellion.

Why then should we not send at once from Eastern Kentucky and Northwestern Virginia into Southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee, a military force sufficiently strong to take permanent possession of the railroad from Dublin to Knoxville, a distance of 230 miles? We have already twice temporarily broken up this railroad by destroying the bridges; once in November, 1861, when the Unionists in East Tennessee conspired for that purpose, and once, recently, when General Carter, with small bands of cavalry, passed secretly from Kentucky through gaps in the Cumberland Mountains into Virginia, and came down upon the road near the point where it crosses the line from Virginia into East Tennessee. Let expeditions now be prepared on a large scale, and let the attack be made simultaneously on points distant from each other.

The Cumberland River is at present under our control from its mouth to its source. It is navigable to Mill Spring, and at that point, and at numerous points below, all less than 100 miles from Knoxville, there are common roads leading directly to the great railroad in the vicinity of Knoxville. Big Sandy River, which forms part of the boundary between Virginia and Kentucky, is said to be navigable for steamers from its mouth in the Ohio to a point on the West or Louisa Fork, not far from Pikeville. From Pikeville a road runs up the valley and along the banks of the Louisa Fork to its source, and thence about 25 miles to Saltville, which will be found on our map, at the end of

a spur of the great Virginia and Tennessee railroad, and nine miles from the junction.

From Pikeville to Saltville an air line is only 60 miles, and the traveled road is very direct through nearly the whole distance. From Pikeville also a road runs along the west side of the Cumberland Mountains to Cumberland Gap, with branches leading through six other gaps, into the State of Virginia, and by winding courses in that State to different points on the great railroad.

Starting, then, from points near the head of navigation on the Cumberland and Big Sandy Rivers, why may not bodies of men, properly armed, be sent through some of the roads which we have designated, to break the great railroad simultaneously near Knoxville and near Dublin, and then to occupy and fortify the intermediate portion? This would rescue from the dominion of the rebels the southwestern part of Virginia and the northern part of East Tennessee, a country containing about 400,000 inhabitants; and it would break permanently the great iron band which now holds together the extreme parts of their horseshoe-shaped country.

Having accomplished so much, the next step might be to build, with all possible expedition, a military railroad, first from Saltville to Pikeville, a distance of about 60 miles, and then from Pikeville 60 or 70 miles further, to Ashland on the Ohio River, near the mouth of the Big Sandy, and not far from Ironton in the State of Ohio, the terminus of a branch of the Cincinnati and Marietta Railroad. When completed to Pikeville, or to the head of steam navigation on the Big Sandy, and especially when extended to the Ohio River, an army of 200,000 men, which might

be quickly collected at Ashland from the Northern and Northwestern States, could thence be transported on this new railroad, with all the cannon, food, and munitions of war of every kind requisite for such a force, in a few hours, through an entirely friendly country, far from all possible interruption by the rebels, to Knoxville, in the centre of the Mountain district—the centre of an inner circle occupied by 1,500,000 staunch Southern Unionists, and the centre also of the outer horseshoe-shaped country occupied by the rebel slaveholders. Once at Knoxville, an army of 200,000 men would soon be in possession of the whole of the great railroad of the Mountain district with its four inlets from the low country; and could then finish at its leisure two branches which were proposed some time since, each less than 100 miles long, viz., one, from a point on the great railroad, about 50 miles east of Knoxville to Morganton in North Carolina, and the other from Rome in Georgia to Talladega in Alabama. The six railroad inlets from the low country might then be protected, if deemed expedient, by fortifications at any suitable places: 1, between Dublin and Lynchburgh; 2, between Morganton and Salisbury; 3, between Kingston and Atlanta; 4, between Rome and Talladega; 5, between Stevenson and Decatur; and 6, between Stevenson and Tullahoma.

What then would be our position, and what the position of the rebel slaveholders? Is it not obvious that 200,000 men in full military possession of the Mountain district would be more than equal, both in defensive and offensive war, to 400,000 occupying the horseshoe-shaped country below? The central position, the compact form, the jaggedness of the surface,

the barrenness of the soil, and the position of the railroads in the Mountain district, are invaluable military advantages.

In defensive war, the inaccessibility and the state of dispersion of the mountaineers, would be formidable obstacles to invasion. Except on the railroad lines there is not a single considerable town in the whole Mountain district, and villages of even a few hundred inhabitants are of rare occurrence. The mountaineers are almost wholly small farmers and graziers, living in cottages, scattered over valleys and in nooks of the mountains. Their wealth consists, chiefly, of grazing lands and forests, with hogs and cattle running wild in the woods. Such property presents no temptation even to guerrilla bands of invaders, and the Confederates would be slow to resort to this mode of warfare against men scattered over a wooded and mountainous country, familiar with its by-roads, and who could retaliate with tenfold effect by raids into the low country. The control of its railroads is all that would induce the Confederates to attack the Mountain district; and a glance at our map will show how easily these roads could be defended by 200,000 men against the invasion of all that would remain of a Confederate army of 400,000, after deducting from it the detachments necessary to garrison scores of forts, and defend a score of cities, on their sea-coast and river frontier of 2,000 miles, to watch 3,000,000 slaves; and to guard the villages and plantations along an inland frontier of more than 1,200 miles, the line of this inland frontier running for the whole distance at the base of a cluster of mountains, and everywhere crossing, at short intervals, the mouths of valleys opening from barren mountains into fertile plains! It could not be difficult, surely, with 200,000,

or the half of 200,000 men, to defend four or six railroad inlets to the Mountain district against all the force that the Confederates could spare from 400,000 men for attack, after making even the scantiest provision for the defense of their outer and inner frontier of more than 3,000 miles !

But how would it be with the mountaineers as invaders, and the Confederates acting on the defensive ? Could 400,000 men defend the horseshoe-shaped country against a general in the Mountain district at the head of 200,000 men, whom he could divide into bands to suit his purpose, and send down to the low country, on the east, or the west, or the south side of the mountains, without an hour's warning, through any one or more of scores of natural and artificial outlets along a frontier of 1,200 miles ?

At the present time, indeed, the Confederates, controlling as they do the great railroad and all south of it in the Mountain district, with 400,000 men maintain the struggle against our 800,000, and this, too, while our navy blockades every port on their coast ; because our General-in-chief, with his immense force divided into ten or twelve great fragments, is attempting with eight of these fragments to enter the low country of the Confederacy by assaulting at once as many fortified lines and places on its outer frontier, viz.: the line of the Rappahannock in Virginia, the cities of Wilmington, Charleston and Savannah on the Atlantic coast, Mobile on the Gulf of Mexico, Port Hudson and Vicksburg on the Mississippi river, and the line of Duck river in Middle Tennessee. With 400,000 men the Confederates can strongly fortify all these lines and places, rendering them almost impregnable, and still have a reserve force so large that, from their central position, and with their

railroad connections, they may overwhelm us at any of these places, at the moment of attack, with superior numbers. But let us once have full military possession of the Mountain district with only 200,000 men, and the whole case would be reversed and more than reversed; for, with 200,000 men we could not only fortify and render impregnable against the rebels the four, or six, as the case may be, great railroad inlets to the Mountain district from the low country, but, with more than 100,000 men to spare, we could cut their horseshoe-shaped country into parts, and overrun successively every part. The most skillful strategist that ever lived could not place 400,000 men so as to protect the country of the rebel slaveholders from being overrun and plundered at pleasure by 200,000 men, after they had obtained full military possession of the Mountain district.

Let then every threatened disaster befall our arms; let foreign Powers raise the blockade of all the Southern ports; let New Orleans, Port Royal and Newbern be recaptured; let the army of the Potomac be compelled to abandon the line of the Rappahannock, and again act on the defensive before Washington and Harper's Ferry; let the rebels drive back Rosecrans till they occupy again what they lost a year ago—the line of Mill Spring, Bowling Green, Fort Donelson, Fort Henry and Columbus; or, worse still, let all our forces in the West be compelled to act on the defensive before Cincinnati; let the nine months' men and the two years' men in our army refuse to reënlist at the expiration of their present terms of service; let all these disasters and more come upon us, and still, with 200,000 men in full military possession of the Mountain district of the South, we should come triumph-

antly out of the contest, and dictate at Knoxville the terms of peace; for we should have within our grasp all the slaves, all the railroads, all the property, of every description, of eight rebel states. Without a gunboat on the Mississippi, the Northwest would secure the free navigation of that river from its mouth to its source; and without firing a cannon at sea the Northeast would deliver its shipowners from their worst enemy on the ocean. The banè and the antidote in this great rebellion are both in the Slave States of the South.

We have said that the most skillful strategist that ever lived could not place 400,000 men so as to protect the horseshoe-shaped country of the rebels from being overrun and plundered by an army of 200,000, after it should have obtained full military possession of the Mountain district. But how can the Confederates raise and maintain an army of 400,000 men, after this Mountain district shall have been rescued from their grasp? Now, by cruel conscriptions of these mountaineers, and by temporarily abandoning the country west of the Mississippi, retaining on this side of the river nearly all the Texans, Louisianians and men of Arkansas in their army, they may be able to count 400,000. But how will it be when the mountaineers, by our aid, shall have secured their independence, and the horseshoe-shaped country is left to recruit its army exclusively from its own population? The whole white population of the nine slave states east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio and Potomac, in 1860, was only 5,267,549; and of this number there were in Kentucky, which remains loyal, and in the Mountain district, which will manifest its loyalty whenever it is free to speak, 2,093,934, leaving in the eight rebel

States east of the Mississippi river only 3,173,615 whites, who are both in sympathy with the rebels, and under their military control. How is it possible for 3,173,615 men, women and children to supply at first, and to keep up afterwards, from its own number, an army of 400,000 men? It would take in the first instance more than twelve and a half per cent,—more than one in eight of the entire white population, *i. e.*, more than one in four of all the white males or nearly two-thirds of all the white males between the ages of 18 and 45! The Kentuckians and mountaineers could raise 200,000 men from their 2,093,934 whites by a draft of less than ten per cent. of their entire white population, or less than one-half of the white males between the ages of 18 and 45.

If it is true that 200,000 men in military possession of the Mountain district of the South, can from its central position, from the nature of the country, and from its railroad connections, not only defend it against double their number in the low country, but can actually overrun the low country at pleasure, holding all its people and property within their grasp, we have then this surprising result, that at the commencement of this great rebellion, our government could have put it down effectually, merely by furnishing Unionists in that large continuous district of the Slave States, in which the Union sentiment is overwhelmingly predominant, with arms, food, and clothing, and forming them into bands to defend themselves against the conscription, and the horrible atrocities to which they have been subjected by the rebel Slaveholders. There were Unionists enough in one continuous district of the South itself, to have put down the rebellion without calling upon the Free States for a single soldier. All that the

North had to do was to supply with arms, food, and clothing, the soldiers which Kentucky and the Mountain district might have furnished from their own population. We did not need to invade Virginia or the Carolinas, to capture New Orleans, Memphis, or Nashville, to blockade the Southern ports, or to interrupt in any way their commerce with the rest of the world. We did not need to attempt with our gunboats to open the navigation of the Mississippi. We might have spared all the lives lost in our great battles, and might have saved all the treasure we have expended in support of our fleets and armies. We did not need to threaten the ruin of the South by the emancipation of her negro slaves. All that we had to do was to emancipate our own white brethren, nay, to fulfill our constitutional obligations, our solemn oaths to these white brethren, our fellow citizens as well as fellow Christians, the loyal, Union-loving, liberty-loving, liberty-deserving mountaineers of the South; to deliver these brethren of our own race and color, from a despotism beyond all comparison worse than that of negro slavery,—a despotism under which they are hunted through their mountains and forests, by Indian savages, with scalping-knives and blood-hounds, forced into the Rebel army, pushed forward there at the point of the bayonet, into the front ranks, to war against the government of their choice, against the flag under which their fathers and our fathers fought together the battles of Independence, the flag in which they have always gloried, and still glory, as the banner of constitutional Liberty and Union in America, and the banner of Hope to the oppressed throughout the world. To put down the Slaveholders' Rebellion, this is all that we had to do at the commencement of the rebellion, and it is all that we have to do now.

GEOGRAPHICAL, STATISTICAL AND
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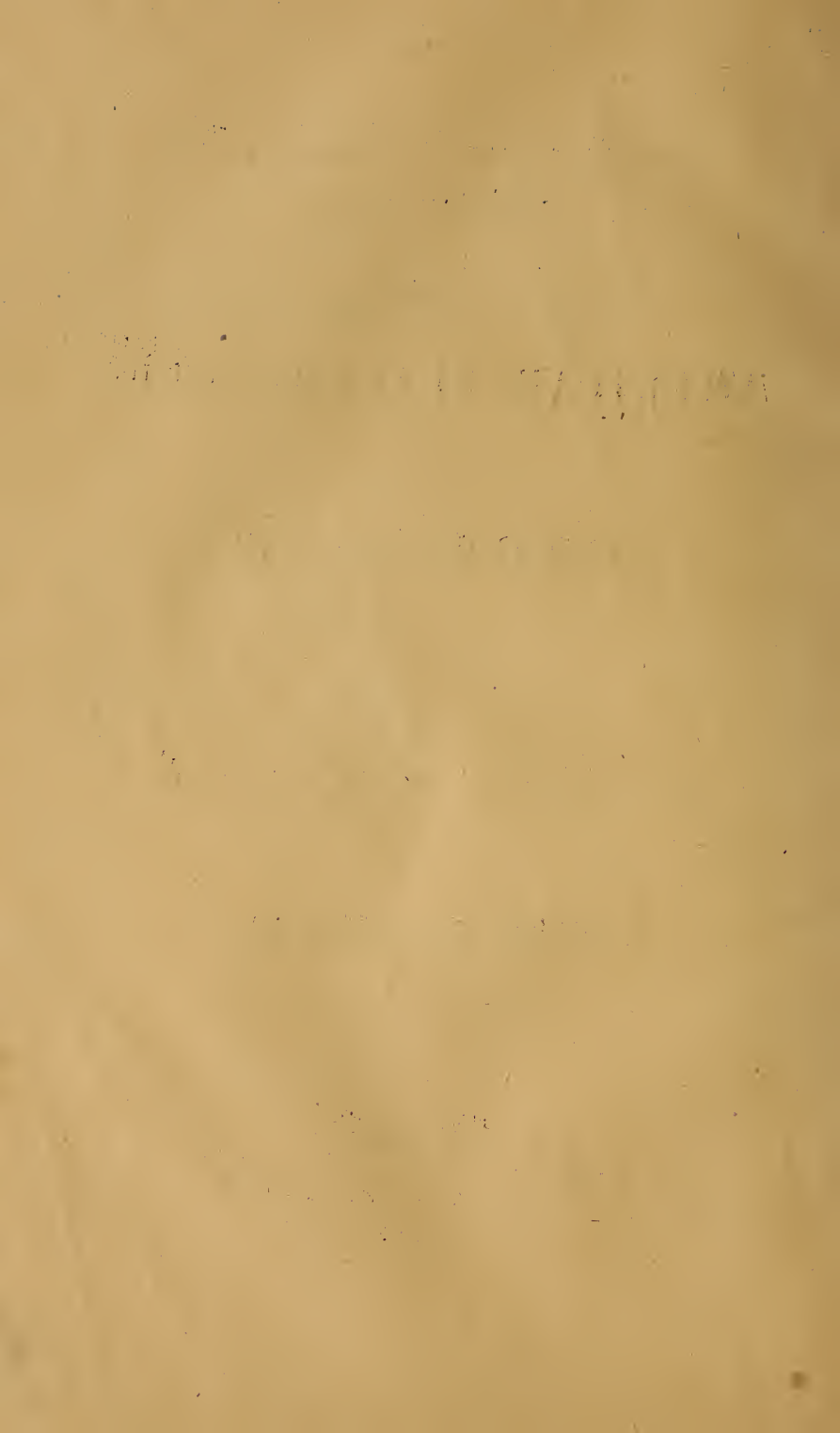
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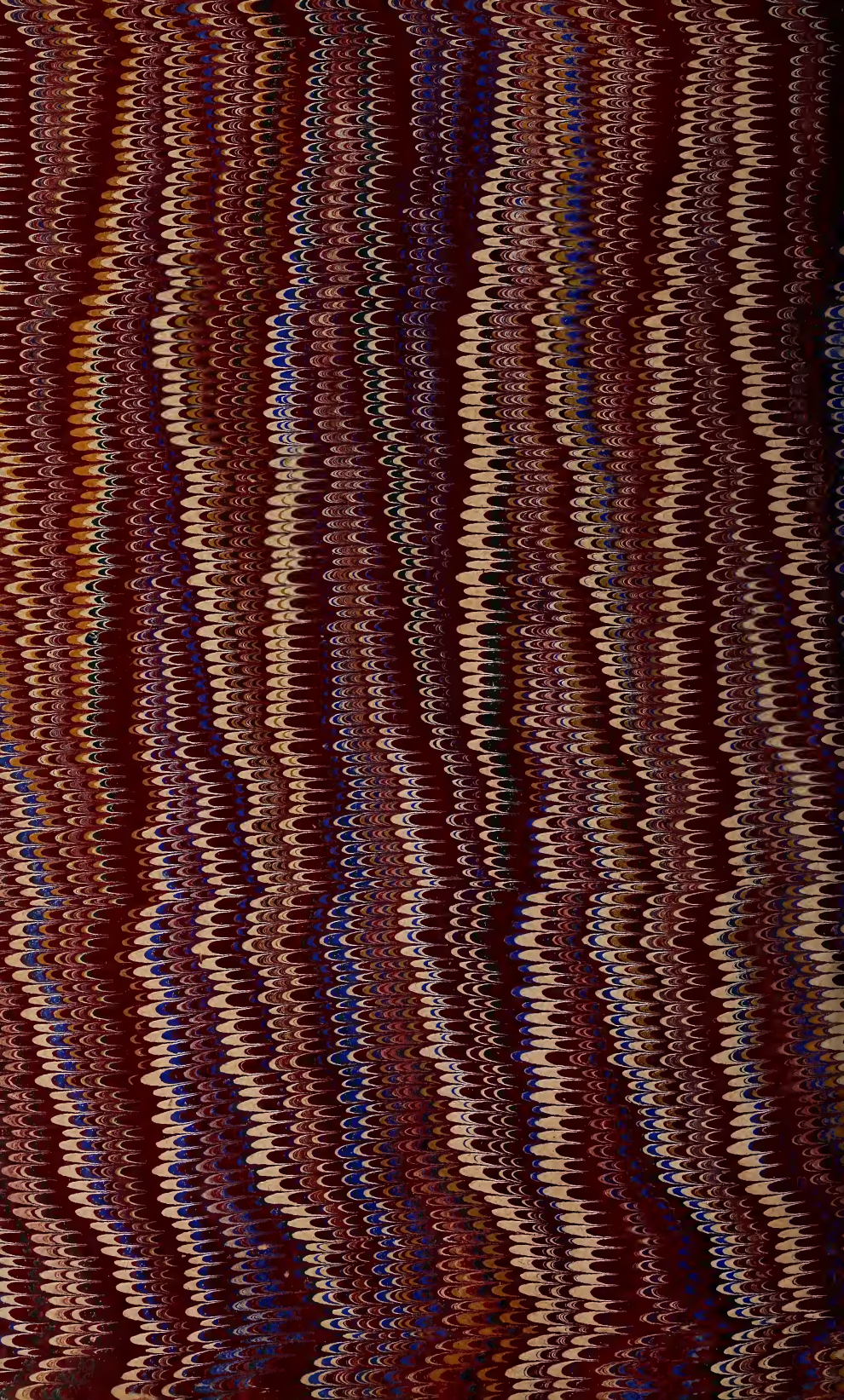
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